

**Intelligence Agencies and Third World Militarization:
A Case Study of Indonesia, 1966-1989,
with Special Reference to
South Korea, 1961-1989**

by

Richard Tanter

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Politics
Faculty of Economic and Politics
Monash University
February 1991

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University or equivalent institution, and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

In memory
of
Elizabeth Radcliffe

Of all of the organs of the state, the one most immediately and forcibly confronted with reality, the police force, has uniquely privileged access to knowledge which enables it to understand a multiplicity and diversity of socially deviant and anti-social forms of behaviour, structural defects in the society and the laws governing social mass behaviour.

Dr. H. Herold
Director, Federal Criminal Investigation Bureau
West Germany

I said to the Americans, "Don't you have a computer that we can put in someone's head so that we can know exactly what his ideology is?"

Admiral Sudomo
Kopkamtib Commander

First we will kill all the subversives, then we will kill their collaborators, then their sympathizers, then those who remained indifferent, and finally, we will kill the timid.

General Iberico Saint-Jean
Argentina

I was not, as I liked to think, the indulgent pleasure-loving opposite of the cold rigid colonel. I was the lie that the Empire tells itself when times are easy, he the truth that Empire tells when harsh winds blow. Two sides of an imperial rule, no more, no less. But I temporized, I looked around this obscure frontier, this little backwater with its dusty summers and its cartloads of apricots and its long siestas and its shiftless garrison and the waterbirds flying in and flying out year after year from the dazzling waveless sheet of the lake, and I said to myself, "Be patient, one of these days he will go away, one of these days quiet will return: then our siestas will grow longer and our swords rustier, the watchman will sneak down from his tower to spend the night with his wife, the mortar will crumble till lizards nest between the bricks and owls fly out of the belfry, and the line that marks the frontier on the maps of the Empire will grow hazy and obscure till we are blessedly forgotten." Thus I seduced myself, taking one of the many wrong turnings I have taken on a road that looks true but has delivered me into the heart of a labyrinth.

J.M.Coetzee, **Waiting for the Barbarians**

Intelligence? Well, now we're getting into pretty marshy territory, Mr. Tanter.

Col. John Mussels
United States Defense Attache
Jakarta, June 1988

Abstract

This dissertation is a study of the role of intelligence agencies in Third World states, in the form of a theoretical introduction and a case study of Indonesia in the late New Order period. In both sections the principal themes are militarization, surveillance and terror. Indonesian politics in the late New Order period is best understood in terms of an ambition towards totalitarian rule set in the specific context of rentier-militarization. Rentier-militarization offers a powerful explanation of the great autonomy of the Indonesian state from the citizenry for more than a quarter of a century, with oil and foreign aid revenues relieving the need for taxation.

Intelligence agencies in Indonesia and elsewhere have four possible roles: surveillance, political intervention, ideological management, and terror. Surveillance in the sense developed in Michel Foucault's work involves the monitoring of the activities of citizens as a general quality of all modern states, involving historically new forms of social control, is now a key element of rule in all societies, with domestic political intelligence agencies as but one variant, albeit ubiquitous. Domestic political intelligence agencies are one manifestation of this tendency, expressing a rationalization of political domination. Heightened surveillance and terror form the main elements of the tendential property of all modern states towards totalitarian rule. Terror as a form of rule is analyzed in terms of its cultural construction.

In the Indonesian case, a highly developed system of militarised surveillance has been established, one that reaches to the lowest levels of rural and urban Indonesia. Moreover that system of surveillance is also linked to the application of varying levels of terror. The structure of the Indonesian intelligence complex is outlined in some detail. Case studies of the mix of intelligence activities in surveillance, political intervention, and terror are presented, dealing with East Timor, Irian Jaya, Islamic and other dissidents, former communist political prisoners, and increasingly, labour. The ambition to totalitarian rule may be ineptly carried out and thwarted in various ways, but it still represents a powerful drive in Indonesian politics, expressing the most modern elements of the world order in which that country is embedded.

Table of Contents

[Note to web version: page references in this TOC refer to the original typed version. The web version has been formatted to reduce space.]

Abstract	p.v
Detailed Table of Contents	p.vii
List of Figures	p.xii
List of Tables	p.xiv
Acknowledgements	p.xvi
Glossary	p.xx
<i>Part I Theoretical overview</i>	
1 Introduction	p.1
2 Militarisation: global, regional and national	p.25
3 Surveillance and the totalitarian ambition	p.61
4 Intelligence and the rationalization of domination	p.92
5 The empire of pain: terror as a form of rule	p.129
<i>Part II Indonesia: militarization, intelligence and terror</i>	
6 Oil, IGGI and US hegemony: the global pre-conditions for Indonesian	

rentier-militarisation	p.167
7 The hardening shell - Indonesian military revenues	and force structures p.206
8 The structure of the Indonesian intelligence apparatus: Part I - military organisations	p.262
9 The structure of the Indonesian intelligence apparatus: Part II - civilian organisations	p.303
10 Intelligence coordination and the coherence of the state	p.342
11 Theory and practice in intelligence and control operations: (1) Terror	p.354
12 Theory and practice in intelligence and control operations: (2) Surveillance	p.385
<i>Part III Conclusion</i>	
13 Conclusion	p.407
Appendices	p.423

Detailed Table of Contents

[Note to web version: page references in this TOC refer to the original typed version. The web version has been formatted to reduce space.]

<i>Abstract</i>	p.v
<i>Table of Contents</i>	p.vi
<i>List of Figures</i>	p.xii
<i>List of Tables</i>	p.xiv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	p.xvi
<i>Glossary</i>	p.xx
 <i>Part I Theoretical overview</i>	
 <i>1 Introduction</i>	 p.1
Prologue: Managing the "still unmastered past"	
The Indonesian intelligence state	
Militarisation, surveillance and terror in modern social theory	
The political economy of rentier-militarist state formation	
Outline of the thesis	
Note: research on intelligence	
 <i>2 Militarization: global, regional and national</i>	 p.25
The effects of militarization	

Militarization as a global phenomenon
Difficulties with the classical notion of
militarism
"Militarism" and "militarization"
Contemporary forms of militarisation:
national, extended or imperial, and indirect
Dimensions of national militarization

3 Surveillance and the totalitarian ambition

p.61

Foucault and Giddens on surveillance
Surveillance and the model of totalitarian rule
Limitations of Giddens' model
Privileging the European model
Dismissing the Japanese model
Modelling the path to totalitarian rule
The place of world-orders
The Japanese model of emperor-system fascism
Ruling bloc

Passive mass-mobilization
Domestic surveillance and limited terror
Extreme terror in the periphery
Conclusion: the relevance of the Japanese model

4 Intelligence and the rationalization of domination

p.92

Intelligence agencies
The functions of domestic intelligence agencies: surveillance,
intervention, ideology and steering
The isomorphic structure of national intelligence agencies
Causes of isomorphic intelligence and security complexes
Sources of variation
The West German model
The rationalisation of domination

5 The empire of pain: terror as a form of rule

p.129

Varieties of modern terror
Inducements to torture
Crimen exceptum and the return of torture
Terror and legitimacy
Tempting the state: incommunicado detention
The uncontrolled state
The cultural construction of terror
The corrosion of solidarity
Semantic delirium
Interruption: talking about torture
Torture and language

Rituals of state
Living in the space of death
The progress of the state: scientizing torture
Terror and memory

Part II Indonesia: militarization, intelligence and terror

*6 Oil, IGGI and US hegemony: the global
pre-conditions for Indonesian rentier-
militarisation*

p. 167

Questions of method
External pre-conditions of the Indonesian rentier-militarist state
The structure of global power and peripheral state possibilities
Global sources of legitimacy for a fortuitous statism
The South Korean response: mercantilist militarism
Conclusion: transformations of the rentier-state and the
mercantilist state

*7 The hardening shell - Indonesian military
revenues and force structures*

p.206

Military revenues and expenditures:
Domestic budgets
Pertamina and other state enterprises
Military enterprises
Levels of spending
Foreign military aid
Force structure: plans, personnel and weapons systems
The transformation:
Force structure, 1968

Force structures 1968-1974
Renstra I and the Timor expansion, 1974/75 - 1978/79
Renstra II, 1978/79 - 1983/84
Renstra III and the Moerdani Years, 1984/85 - 1988/89
Force structure, 1987

*8 The structure of the Indonesian intelligence apparatus: Part I - military
organisations* p.262

Kopkamtib

Legal status

Aims and functions

Powers and scope

Structure and procedures

KOPKAMTIB at war: Irian Jaya and East Timor

Controlling labour: structures

Operasi Tertib - Operation Order

After Kopkamtib: Bakorstanas

Strategic Intelligence Agency [Bais ABRI]

Origins

Structure

Foreign activities

Political activities

Army Intelligence: from Aspam to Babinsa

*9 The structure of the Indonesian intelligence
apparatus: Part II - civilian organisations*

p.303

State Intelligence Coordinating Board [Bakin]:

History

Structure and personnel

Political role

Opsus

A private intelligence empire?

Opsus personnel:

thugs, spooks and "political technocrats"

Opsus financial base

National Police Intelligence

Department of Home Affairs, Directorate-General of Social and
Political Affairs

Attorney-General's Department, Intelligence Affairs

State Cryptography Institute

*10 Intelligence coordination and the coherence
of the state*

p.342

Local intelligence coordination

Central intelligence coordination

Organizational rivalries

11 Theory and practice in intelligence and control operations: (1) Terror

p.354

The SESKOAD textbook models:

Intelligence operations

Territorial operations

Social and political operations
Threat levels and the framework of intervention: Regional
Security Management
Intelligence and security operations in practice:
Surveillance and terror in East Timor intelligence and security
operations
Irian Jaya intelligence and security operations
Extra-judicial killings of alleged criminals, 1983-84
Provocation and terror against students, Timorese and Muslims

*12 Theory and practice in intelligence and control operations: (2)
surveillance*

p.385

Controlling labour
First corporatist attempts
Pancasila industrial relations
Organisational tightening
Intelligence and intervention
Sifting the dust of history: mass surveillance techniques:
East Timor: surveillance in war
Penetrating labour
Social science against Islam
Communists: fantasies of science

Part III Conclusion

13 Conclusion

p.407

Indonesia: a totalitarian ambition in a
rentier militarist state

Intelligence regimes
The end of rentier-militarisation?
Intelligence and society
The military and modernity, again

Appendices

<i>1 Indonesian intelligence and security figures, 1966-1989: biographical notes</i>	p.424
<i>2 Intelligence career paths</i>	p.487
<i>3 Notes on the history of Indonesian intelligence organizations, 1945-1965</i>	p.500
<i>4 Seskoad recommended model evaluation of territorial aims</i>	p.513
<i>5 Seskoad recommended model of territorial potential analysis</i>	p.517
<i>6 Seskoad recommended model of territorial development analysis</i>	p.520
<i>7 Kopkamtib questionnaire for oil industry workers</i>	p.523
<i>8 Kopkamtib questionnaire for factory workers</i>	p.525
<i>9 Indonesian military budget, 1978: detailed breakdown</i>	p.527
<i>10 Assistants for Intelligence to the Central Army Command, Department of Defence and Security Joint Command or ABRI Chief of the General Staff, 1965 -1985</i>	p.530

<i>11 First Assistant (Intelligence/Security) to the Army Chief of Staff, 1967-1985</i>	p.531
<i>12 The Armed Forces Leadership and Social Communication</i>	p.532
<i>Bibliography</i>	p.546

List of figures

3.1	The institutional clusters of modernity	p.71
3.2	Anti-systemic movements	p.73
4.1	Three models of internal security in a liberal state	p.121
6.1	Indonesia, oil and aid funds as a percentage of total budget, 1974 - 1988	p.182
6.2	Indonesia, budget revenue sources, 1974 - 1988	p.183
6.3	Indonesia, oil as a percentage of exports, 1964 - 1985	p.184
7.1	Indonesia, military spending, current prices,	p.212
7.2	Indonesia, military spending, constant prices, various SIPRI estimates, 1965 - 1985	p.213
7.3	Indonesia, military expenditure/personnel ratio, million rupiahs (constant) per armed forces member, 1971 - 1985	p.223
7.4	Indonesia, military development budget, constant (1980) rupiahs (thousand million), 1969 - 1985	p.228
7.5	U.S. military assistance and military sales to Indonesia, constant US\$ mn. (1980), 1965 -1985	

7.6	Indonesia, armed forces, 1968 - 1987	p.237
7.7	Indonesia, imports of major weapons, constant (1985) US\$ mn. 1951 - 1985	p.252
8.1	Indonesian intelligence organisations	p.263
8.2	Kopkamtib organisation	p.272
8.3	Bais headquarters organisation	p.289
8.4	Armed Forces headquarters security and intelligence organisation	p.295
8.5	Military Area Command [Kodam] headquarters organisation	p.297
8.6	Army intelligence and security: staff and line organisation	p.299
8.7	Military Sub-District Command [Koramil] organisation	p.301
9.1	Bakin headquarters organisation	p.309
9.2	Indonesian Police headquarters organisation	p.328
10.1	Regional security organisation	p.345
13.1	Domestic intelligence regime types (1)	p.415
13.2	Domestic intelligence regime types (2)	p.415

List of tables

2.1 Deaths from war and state violence, Asia, 1960 – 1987.	p.26
2.2 Alliances of Asia.	p.38
2.3 Types of contemporary militarization in Asia.	p.41
2.4 Selected economic indicators, militarised capitalist states of East and Southeast Asia.	p.44
2.5 Military expenditure, Asia 1976 – 1985, constant prices (1980 US\$ mn.).	p.46
2.6 Military expenditure, Asia 1976 - 1985: real growth rates.	p.47
2.7 Value of arms transfers, Asia, cumulative 1976–80 and 1981–85, by major supplier and recipient country, (current US\$ mn.).	p.56
4.1 Sources of variation in intelligence regimes.	p.116
5.1 Killings by state and non-state terrorists.	p.134
6.1 Indonesia, oil exports 1964 - 1985.	p.178
6.2 Indonesia, balance of payments, FY1974 - FY1987.	p.179
6.3 Indonesia, central government budget summary,	

FY1974 - FY1988.	p.180
6.4 Indonesia, central government budget: receipts, FY1974 - FY1988.	p.181
7.1 Indonesia, military spending, 1965 - 1985 varying SIPRI estimates, current and constant prices.	p.211
7.2 Indonesia, military budget, FY 1969 - 1983, current and constant prices.	p.215
7.3 Indonesia, military expenditure/personnel ratio, million rupiahs (constant) per armed forces member, 1971 - 1985.	p.222
7.4 Indonesia, military debt: alternative estimates of arms transfer credits as a percentage of net debt flows, 1971-1982.	p.225
7.5 Military development budget FY 1969-1985 current and constant prices.	p.227
7.6 United States military assistance to Indonesia, 1968 - 1982, (current).	p.230
7.7 United States military assistance to Indonesia, 1968-82, (constant).	p.231
7.8 Indonesia, armed forces 1968 -1987.	p.236
7.9 Indonesian and South Korean military expenditures	

by sector, 1978.	p.245
7.10 Major Indonesian arms imports 1971-1985.	p.253
7.11 Indonesia, imports of major weapons, 1951 - 1985, constant (1985) prices.	p.256
8.1 Kopkamtib commanders, 1965 - 1988.	p.268
8.2 Conflict Prevention Executive Center, membership/organisation.	p.278
8.3 Heads of Pusintelstrat and Bais, 1970 - 1988.	p.287
8.4 Strategic Intelligence Body [Bais]: major divisions.	p.288
9.1 Heads of Bakin, 1967 - 1988.	p.307
9.2 Police intelligence organisations: Late Dutch colonial, Japanese Occupation, and Indonesian Republican.	p.326
9.3 Department of Home Affairs, Directorate-General of Social and Political Affairs.	p.332
9.4 Attorney-General's Department, Deputy Attorney-General for Intelligence Affairs: directorates.	p.336
9.5 State Cryptography Institute: bureaus.	p.338
11.1 Levels of security disturbances.	p.363

A-9. 1 Indonesian military expenditure, detailed
United Nations presentation, FY 1978.

p.528

Acknowledgements

It is inevitable that in the course of writing a thesis that was originally planned to deal with four countries and several disciplines and which has been in production since 1984 I should have acquired many debts, intellectual and otherwise - perhaps more than most. One of the few genuine pleasures of the last throes of thesis-writing is the acknowledgement of those debts - and friendships.

The work for this dissertation was carried out at Monash University in that university's Centre of Southeast Asian Studies. There are, of course, a number of such centres in other places, but I doubt that many can equal the CSEAS combination of superb Indonesian library resources, a lively and high-standard weekly seminar series, staff who facilitate and encourage one through the vicissitudes of research, and a first-rate graduate student body from Southeast Asia and Australia. I am grateful for all of these, and happy to acknowledge the assistance of the Centre's travel fund for two brief visits to Indonesia in 1986 and 1988.

To the Centre's Research Director, David Chandler, I owe a great deal both personally and professionally, not least his friendship, criticism and the example of his commitment to scholarship. In addition to solving innumerable small difficulties, the friendliness and perceptiveness of the Centre's administrative officers, Pam Sayers, Zuli Chudori and Ondine Spitzer, made life in an otherwise bureaucratic university bearable. They each have my thanks. Over many years, the Southeast Asia Collection of the Monash Main Library has been built up to its present fine condition. Helen Soemardjo, the Southeast Asian Librarian, found many rare or obscure pieces for me. My thanks to her for those occasions, and for the preservation and expansion of that remarkable collection.

When I first came to the Politics Department at Monash, Professor David Kemp was supportive and helpful in the transition from political activism to research work. I am grateful to him for his support and assistance, and to the Department for assistance from its travel fund.

The decision to write this thesis came after experiencing an extraordinarily fruitful sojourn at the Center of International Studies at Princeton University. I am grateful its

head, Cyrus Black, and to Richard Falk for the invitation to work at the Center. Much of the early work on militarization was developed in papers for the Asian Peace Research Association and the United Nations University. For that and much subsequent help I am grateful to Sakamoto Yoshikazu, then Secretary-General of the International Peace Research Association, and to Mushakoji Kinhide, then Vice-Rector of the UNU and head of its Division of Peace and Global Transformation. Saul Mendelowitz and Robert Johansen of the World Policy Institute published some of that early material in the journal *Alternatives*, and I am grateful for their support.

It would not have been possible to make the leap out of tenure which was necessary to write this thesis had it not been for the financial generosity of Diana and Jack Refshauge, and especially that of Alan Roberts. Belinda Probert, Judy Wajcman and Joel Kahn also subsidized the thesis work by tolerating an exceptionally unproductive research assistant during most of 1987-88.

One of the sadnesses attached to the writing of this thesis is that it is impossible publicly to thank the large number of people in Indonesia who helped me in this work. By the nature of the study, it is at present impossible to reveal most of the sources of information for the sensitive portion of this work. Indeed, in many cases to do so would be to show base ingratitude. Many people took risks in speaking with me, not out of any particular personal regard for me, but from a sense of political decency and responsibility. In many cases, rich friendship developed. In all cases, they have my gratitude. I look forward to the day when it will be possible honour my debt to them all in public.

Of course, there were many people in Indonesia who talked to me who it would be possible to name, and who should be thanked. However, to name some and not others is invidious. More worryingly, it opens the door to the possibility of guessing the identity of my sources (rightly or wrongly) by a process of elimination. Better to remain with that standby of the nuclear state: I neither confirm nor deny...

However, Barbara Martin, Jim Schiller and Ron Witton at various times gave me a home in Indonesia, and much sympathetic but critical advice. I mention them only because, despite their great knowledge of Indonesia, they were *not* in a position to help me with the core empirical parts of the work. Nevertheless my debt, for their hospitality and the warmth of their generous talking and listening, is great. If I have so often ignored

their advice, it was not from their want of trying to set on me on the right path.

Like all researchers on the Indonesian military, I am extremely grateful to the editors of *Indonesia* for their steady compilation of information on senior commands, to Professor Harsja W. Bachtiar for his *Siapa Dia? Perwira Tinggi TNI A.D.*¹, and to Major Harold W. Maynard USAF for his *Indonesian Military Acronyms and Abbreviations*² The magnitude of each of these debts becomes clear when one tries to acquire information about individuals from other sources: especially officers outside the Army, civilians, and junior officers in general.

Over several years I was lucky enough to be at the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies at Monash in the company of Krishna Sen, David Bouchier, Tan Sooi Beng, Frances Loh, Ken Young, Joel Kahn, all of whom shared the frustrations of social theorists who still want to talk about the real world. John Legge played the part of the grit in the oyster with characteristic elegance - no pearl has been produced, but I am grateful all the same.

Ben Anderson read the first short pre-field work version of what has become Part 2 of this thesis. Reading his detailed critical comments in Jakarta not only saved me from more mistakes than I would otherwise have made, but encouraged me to go on with what was then seeming a rather impossible task. Harold Crouch kindly read a draft of Chapter 7. Pavla Miller read drafts of chapters in both Part 1 and Part 2, and with the sharp eye of one who knew little about Indonesia but a great deal about how to ask useful questions of theory (and about cats), helped enormously at a crucial stage. David Bouchier made the last eighteen months at Monash exciting not only because of our shared interests, but also because of his generosity in exchanging information and working over new pieces of the puzzle together. David also read drafts of Chapters 7, 8 and 9, and contributed numerous choice details to the Biographical Appendix.

I would also like to thank Andrew Linklater, Pat Walsh, Lance Castles, Mohammed Slamet, Robin Luckham, Val Noone, Gavan McCormack, Nic Maclellan, Angus Macintyre, Andrew Mack, Chris Dureau, Robert Reid Smith, Tim Rowse, Brian

1. Jakarta: Grafitipers, 1988.

2. Second Edition, March 1982, DVP-2600-3003-82.

Toohy, Jacques Leclerc, Olle Tornquist, Owen Wilkes, Wayne Robinson, Lim Teck Ghee, Jill Jolliffe, Dieter Senghaas, Robin Luckham, Sakamoto Yoshikazu, Nishihara Masashi, Simon Holberton, Wada Haruki, Dan Lev, Don Emmerson, Ruth McVey, Richard Falk, Saul Mendelowitz, Noam Chomsky, and Fred Bunnell. Sadly A.F.Davies died well before this thesis was complete, but was immensely encouraging in research in a field far from his own. In the two years of intermittent work on the thesis in Kyoto, Emma Malig's paintings of "The People in the Sky" - the disappeared of her native Chile and other countries - were a superb and moving illumination of much that I have felt unable to say adequately.

A thesis exacts a great deal from the friends who put up with absence, dereliction of the duties of household and friendship, the joys of proof-reading, obsession, and ill-humour: for tolerating all this, and providing more encouragement and support than I at times deserved, I am grateful to Belinda Probert, Pat Jessen, and Jack Gilding.

There are six people in particular to whom I have a profound gratitude concerning this thesis. It would not have even been possible to contemplate this work without the efforts of Brian Mitchell all those years ago. At a crucial time, Boris Frankel gave me direction by demanding some answers. Peter Hayes and I shared a summer of interviewing together in Seoul, and many hours of talking there and in Australia. I am grateful to him for good friendship and telling criticism. Luisa Macmillan not only tolerated the last two years of thesis with intelligent encouragement and amazing good humour, but read the entire manuscript more than once, but made it possible to actually think of finishing the thesis as a real possibility. In the thankless position of supervisor, Herb Feith endured much and gave more. He has been a friend for the best part of two decades, and for me, as for many others, an inspiring - and exasperating - model of political commitment, intellectual insight, and an unmatched generosity of spirit. Finally, Elizabeth Radcliffe, to whose memory this is dedicated, not only demanded that it be written, but in her own life brought the light that showed the way of hope and grace beyond. To them all, my deepest gratitude.

Richard Tanter
Kyoto Seika University
Kino-cho, Sakyo-ku,
Kyoto 606, Japan

Glossary^{***}

ABRI	<i>[Angkatan Bersenjata Indonesia]</i> Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia
AHM	<i>[Akademi Hukum Militer]</i> Military Law Academy
Akabri	<i>[Akademi Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia]</i> Indonesian Armed Forces Academy
Aktekad	<i>[Akademi Teknologi Angkatan Darat]</i> Army Technical Academy
AMN	<i>[Akademi Militer Nasional]</i> National Military Academy
Amn	State Internal Security (Iraq)
ANSP	Agency for National Security Planning (South Korea)
APBN	<i>[Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara]</i> State Income and Expenditure Budget
Apter	<i>[Aparatus Teritorial]</i> Territorial Apparatus
Arhanud	<i>[Artileri Pertahanan Udara]</i> Air Defence Artillery Centre
Armed	<i>[Artileri Medan]</i> Field Artillery
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand)
Asintel	<i>[Asisten Intelijen]</i> Intelligence Assistant
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
ASIS	Australian Secret Intelligence Service
Askamtibmas	<i>[Asisten Keamanan dan Ketertiban Masyarakat]</i> Assistant for

^{***}. In deciphering the many acronyms in Indonesian military texts I have been grateful to a SESKOAD graduate, Major Harold Maynard of the U.S. Air Force, for his work in compiling Indonesian Military Acronyms and Abbreviations, (Second edition, March 1982; DVP-2600-3003-82), and to Harsja W. Bachtar, *Siapa Dia? Perwira Tinggi Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Darat*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1988), pp.xii-xvi. I am also indebted to Peter Britton for the aid of the bibliography in his *Military Professionalism in Indonesia: Javanese and Western Military Traditions in Army Ideology to the 1970s*, unpublished MA thesis, Department of History, Monash University, February 1983. Unless otherwise noted, all terms are Indonesian terms, or Dutch and Japanese terms used in Indonesia prior to 1945, or used virtually worldwide.

Public Order and Security

Askomlek	<i>[Asisten Kominkasi dan Elektronika]</i> Assistant for Communications and Electronics
Aslog	<i>[Asisten Logistik]</i> Assistant for Logistics
Asops	<i>[Asisten Operasi]</i> Assistant for Operations
Aspers	<i>[Asisten Personil]</i> Assistant for Personnel
Asrenum	<i>[Asisten Perencana Umum]</i> Assistant for General Planning
Assospol	<i>[Asisten Sosial Politik]</i> Assistant for Social and Political Affairs
Aster	<i>[Asisten Teritorial]</i> Territorial Affairs Assistant
Asyawan	<i>[Asisten Kekaryawan]</i> Assistant for Functional Affairs
Ba Tuud	<i>[Bintara Tata Usaha Urusan Dalam]</i> Internal Administration NCO
Bagian Intel Angkatan Perang	Armed Forces Intelligence Section
Babek	<i>[Badan Pembekalan]</i> Logistics Agency
Babinkar	<i>[Badan Pembina Karyawan]</i> Functional Affairs Management Agency
Babinkum ABRI	<i>[Badan Pembina Hukum]</i> Armed Forces Legal Guidance Service
Babinsa	<i>[Bintara Pembina Desa]</i> Village Guidance NCO
Badan Pengamanan Penguasa Daerah	Regional Security Authorities Body
Bais ABRI	<i>[Badan Intelijen Stratejis ABRI]</i> Armed Forces Strategic Intelligence Agency
Bakin	<i>[Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara]</i> the State Intelligence Coordinating Agency
Bakorin	<i>[Badan Koordinasi Intelijen]</i> Intelligence Coordinating Body
Bakorstanas	<i>[Badan Koordinasi Koordinasi Bantuan Pemantapan]</i>

	<i>Stabilistas Nasional</i>] the Coordinating Body for Assisting in the Maintenance of National Stability
Bakorstanasda	Area Bakorstanas Executive
Bappenas	<i>[Badan Perencana Pembangunan Nasional]</i> National Development Planning Agency
Baurkonsos	<i>[Bintara Kondisi Sosial]</i> Social Conditions NCO
Baurwanra	<i>[Bintara Perlawanan Rakyat]</i> Peoples Resistance Force NCO
Berufsverbote	Banned employment
BfV	<i>[Bundesamt fllr Verfassungsschutz]</i> Office for the Protection of the Constitution (West Germany)
Binalindung	Development and Protection of Labour
Biro Khusus	Special Bureau
BKMC	<i>[Badan Koordinasi Masalah Cina]</i> Coordinating Body for Chinese Affairs
BKR	<i>[Badan Keamaman Rakyat]</i> People's Security Body
BND	<i>[Bundesnachrichtendienst]</i> Federal Intelligence Service (West Germany)
BOSS	Bureau of State Security (South Africa)
BPI	<i>[Badan Pusat Intelijens]</i> Central Intelligence Body
BPU	<i>[Badan Pengawasan Undang-Undang]</i> Legal Control Agency
Bundeskriminalamt	Federal Criminal Investigation Bureau (West Germany)
bupati	regent
buruh	worker/labourer
chudancho	company commander
Chûô Sangi-in	Central Advisory Council
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (US)

Cointelpro	Counter-intelligence programme (US)
CPM	<i>[Corps Polisi Militer]</i> Military Police Corps
CSIS	Centre for Strategic Studies
daidanco	battalion commander
Dagri	<i>[Dalam Negeri]</i> Home Affairs
Dan	<i>[Komandan]</i> Commander
Demin Kapolri	<i>[Deputi Administrasi Kepala Polisi Republik Indonesia]</i> Deputy for Administration to the Chief of the National Police
Den	<i>[Detasemen]</i> Detachment
Den Inteldam	<i>[Detasemen Intelijen Daerah Militer]</i> Military Area <i>[Kodam]</i> Intelligence Detachment
Deops Kapolri	<i>[Deputi Operasi Kepala Polisi Republik Indonesia]</i> -Deputy for Operations to the Chief of the National Police
DINA	<i>[Direccion de Inteligencia Nacional]</i> National Intelligence Directorate (Chile)
Dipiad	<i>[Dinas Pelaksana Intelijen Angkatan Darat]</i> Army Executive Intelligence Directorate
Dispen Humas	<i>[Dinas Penerangan Hubungan Masyarakat]</i> Information and Community Relations Office
Dit Intelpam Pol	<i>[Direktorat Inteljen Pengamanan Polisi]</i> Directorate of Police Intelligence and Security Affairs
Dit Pamau	<i>[Direktorat Pengamanan Angkatan Udara]</i> Air Force Security Directorate
DPKN	<i>[Dinas Pengawasan Keamanan Negara]</i> State Security Service
DPR	<i>[Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat]</i> People's Representative Council
dwifungsi	dual function
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
ELS	<i>[Europesche Lager School]</i> European Lower School

Estikhbarat	Military Intelligence (Iraq)
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation [<i>FBI</i>]
FBSI	Federasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia] All-Indonesia Labour Unions Federation
FMS	Foreign Military Sales (US)
FOSKO	[<i>Forum Studi dan Komunikasi</i>] Forum for Study and Communication
gabungan	joint (unit, group)
gali	[<i>gang liar</i>] wild gang, gangster
GBHN	[<i>Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara</i>] Perspectives of the Course of the Nation
Gerwani	[<i>Gerakan Wanita Indonesia</i>] Indonesian Women's Movement
GHS	Geneeskundige Hogeschool
GPK	[<i>Gerakan Pengacau Keamanan</i>] Security Threatening Elements
GPL	[<i>Gerakan Pengacau Liar</i>] Wild Terrorist Gangs
G30S/PKI	[<i>Gerakan 30 September/Partai Komunis Indonesia</i>] 30th September Movement/Communist Party
Golkar	[<i>Golongan Karya</i>] functional groups; Indonesian Government Political Movement
gotong-royong	mutual cooperation
GRU	[<i>Glavnoye Razvedyvatel'noye Upravleniye</i>] Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff (USSR)
Hankam	[<i>Pertahanan dan Keamanan</i>] Defence and Security
Hansip	[<i>Pertahanan Sipil</i>] Civil Defence
HF/DF	high frequency/direction finding
HIS	[<i>Hollandsch-Indlandsche School</i>] Dutch Native School

Hizbu'llah	Army of God
IKP	<i>[Intelijen Kementerian Pertahanan]</i> Defence Ministry Intelligence
IMET	International Military Education and Training (US)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
Intelpampol	<i>[Intelijen Pengamanan Polisi]</i> Police Intelligence and Security
ipolekososbud	ideological, political, economic, social, cultural
Irjen ABRI	<i>[Inspektur Jenderal ABRI]</i> Inspector-General of the Armed Forces
ITB	<i>[Institut Teknologi Bandung]</i> Bandung Institute of Technology
Jabotabek	Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi region
Jaksa Tinggi	Senior Attorney (prosecutor)
Jamintel	<i>[Jaksa Agung Muda Bidang Intelijen]</i> Deputy Attorney-General (Intelligence)
ka	<i>[kepala]</i> head
kabupaten	regency (administrative unit)
Kadapol	<i>[Kepala Daerah Polisi]</i> Head of Police Area
Kadin Sospol	<i>[Kepala Dinas Sosial Politik]</i> Head of the Social and Political Affairs Office
KAL	<i>[Kelompok Aksi dilapangan]</i> Field Action Groups
Kamtibmas	<i>[Keamanan dan Ketertiban Masyarakat]</i> Public Order and Security
Kapolri	<i>[Kepala Polisi Republik Indonesia]</i> Chief of the National Police
karyawan	someone who works, someone who performs a function
Kasi	<i>[Kepala Seksi]</i> Head of Section

Kaskar	<i>[Kepala Staf Kekaryawan]</i> Chief of Staff for Functional Affairs
Kaskopkamtib	<i>[Kepala Staf Kopkamtib]</i> Kopkamtib Chief of Staff
Kassospol ABRI	<i>[Kepala Staf Sosial Politik ABRI]</i> Chief of the Armed Forces Social and Political Affairs Staff
Kasum ABRI	<i>[Kepala Staf Umum ABRI]</i> Chief of the Armed Forces General Staff
KCIA	Korean Central Intelligence Agency
kebathinan	spirituality, concern and cultivation of the inner self, Javanese spiritual practises
keimukan	Home Ministry police officials (Japanese)
Kejaksaan Tinggi	Senior Prosecutor's Office
Keluarga Besar ABRI	Greater Family of the Armed Forces
Kempeitai	Military Police (Japanese)
Kenkyūhan	Research Group
Kesepakatan Bersama Lembaga Kerjasama Tripartit Nasional	National Tripartite Labour Institute Accord
Ketertiban Umum Hansip	Civilian Defence and Public Order Development
KGB	<i>[Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti]</i> Committee for State Security (USSR)
KIN	<i>[Komando Intelijens Negara]</i> State Intelligence Command
KMA	<i>[Koninklijke Militaire Academie]</i> Royal Military Academy (Netherlands)
KMA	Korean Military Academy (South Korea)
KNI	<i>[Komite Nasional Indonesia]</i> Indonesian National Committee

KNIL	<i>[Koninklijke Nederlandsch Indische Leger]</i> Royal Netherlands Indies Army
KNPI	<i>[Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia]</i> the National Committee of Indonesian Youth
Koanda	<i>[Komando Antar Daerah]</i> Inter Regional Command
Kobangdiklat	<i>[Komando Pengembangan Pendidikan dan Latihan]</i> Training and Education Development Command
Kodam	<i>[Komando Daerah Militer]</i> Military Area Command
Kodim	<i>[Komando Distrik Militer]</i> Military District Command
Kohanudnas	<i>[Komando Pertahanan Udara Nasional]</i> National Air Defence Command
kokutai	form of national government (Japanese)
Komando Jihad	Holy War Command
Kopkamtib	<i>[Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban]</i> Command for the Restoration of Security and Order
Kopur Linud	<i>[Komando Tempur Lintas Udara]</i> Airborne Combat Command
Kopassandha	<i>[Komando Pasukan Sandhi Yudha]</i> Secret Warfare Force
Kopassus	<i>[Komando Pasukan Khusus]</i> Special Forces Command
Koramil	<i>[Komando Rayon Militer]</i> Military Sub-District Command
Korem	<i>[Komando Resort Militer]</i> Military Sub-Area Command
Korp Komando A.D.	Army Commando Corps
Korpri	<i>[Korps Pegawai Republik Indonesia]</i> Indonesian Government Officials Corps
Kostrad	<i>[Komando Cadangan Strategis TNI-AD]</i> Army Strategic Reserve Command
KOTI	<i>[Komando Operasi Tertinggi]</i> Supreme Operations Command
Kotis	<i>[Komando Taktis]</i> Tactical Command

Kotto Keisatsu	Special Police (Japanese)
Kowilhan	<i>[Komando Wilayah Pertahanan]</i> Defence Region Command
KRI	<i>[Kapal Republik Indonesia]</i> Indonesian Ship
ksatriya	knight
Kudarlap	<i>[Kursus Dasar Lapangan]</i> Basic Field Course
Kupalda	<i>[Kursus Perwira Lanjutan Dua]</i> Advanced Officers' Training Course II
Kyōikutai	Officer Training Unit
Laksus	<i>[Pelaksana Khusus]</i> Special Executive
Laksusda	<i>[Pelaksana Khusus Daerah]</i> Area Special Executive
Lasuswil	<i>[Pelaksana Khusus Wilayah]</i> Regional Special Executive
Lemhannas	<i>[Lembaga Pertahanan Nasional]</i> National Defence Institute
Linud	<i>[Lintas Utara]</i> Airborne
LSN	<i>[Lembaga Sandi Negara]</i> State Cryptography Institute
lurah	village head
Mahmillub	<i>[Mahkamah Militer Luar Biasa]</i> Extraordinary Military Tribunal
MAAG	Military Assistance Advisory Group (US)
MAD	<i>[Militärischer Abschirmdienst]</i> Military Screening Service (West Germany)
MAP	Military Assistance Program (US)
Menko Polkam	<i>[Menteri Koordinator Bidang Politik dan Keamanan]</i> Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security
MPBI	Indonesian Labour Consultative Council
MB	<i>[Markas Besar]</i> Headquarters
MPR	<i>[Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat]</i> People's Consultative

	Assembly
MPRS	<i>[Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat]</i> Interim People's Consultative Assembly
mufakat	consensus
Mukhabarat	(Ba'ath) Party Intelligence (Iraq)
MULO	<i>[Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs]</i> More Extended Lower Instruction
musyawarah	consultation
Muspida	<i>[Musyawarah Pimpinan Daerah]</i> Leaders' Consultative Council
Negara Islam Indonesia	Indonesian Islamic State
NEFIS	Dutch Second World War intelligence service
NIO	National Intelligence Office (Papua-New Guinea)
NSA	National Security Agency (US)
nubika	nuclear, biological and chemical
NWFZ	Nuclear Weapon Free Zone
ONA	Office of National Assessments (Australia)
OPM	<i>[Organisasi Papua Merdeka]</i> Free Papua Movement
Opstibpus	<i>[Operasi Tertib Pusat]</i> Centre for Operation Order
Opsus	<i>[Operasi Khusus]</i> Special Operations
P3AD	<i>[Pusat Pendidikan Perwira Angkatan Darat]</i> Army Officers' Education Centre
P4P/P4D	Central and Regional Councils for the Resolution of Labour Disputes
Paban	<i>[Perwira Bantuan]</i> Aide
pao-chia	family-based or village-based system of collective responsibility (Chinese)

Pam	<i>[Pengawasan Aliran Masyarakat]</i> Social Supervision
paramong praja	"servants of the realm"; senior administrators
Pancasila	Five Principles of the Republic of Indonesia
Pangab	<i>[Panglima ABRI]</i> Armed Forces Commander
Pangdam	<i>[Panglima Daerah Militer]</i> Military Area Commander
Panitia Penelitian Pusat	Central Investigation Committee
Panitia Pengawas Pelaksanaan Pemilu Pusat	Central Committee to Supervise the Conduct of the Election
Paswalpres	<i>[Pasukan Pengawal Presiden]</i> Presidential Security Squad
Pelatih Inti Pasukan Komando Angkatan Darat	Army Commando Nucleus Force Training
pembangunan	development
pemuda	young man
pengamanan	counter-intelligence, security
penggalangan	covert action/psychological warfare
penyelidikan	intelligence, investigation
Penyelidik Militer Khusus	Special Military Intelligence
Pepolit	<i>[Pendidikan Politik]</i> Political Education Bureau
Pertamina	<i>[Pertambangan Minyak Nasional]</i> Indonesian state oil company
Peta	<i>[Tentara Sukarela Pembela Tanah Air]</i> Voluntary Army of the Defenders of the Fatherland
petrus	<i>[penembak/an misterius]</i> mysterious killings/killers

PID	<i>[Politieke Inlichtengen Dienst]</i> Political Intelligence Service
PKI	<i>[Partai Komunis Indonesia]</i> Communist Party of Indonesia
PKM	<i>[Pengawasan Keamanan Masyarakat]</i> Social Security Supervision
PNI	<i>[Partai Nasional Indonesia]</i> Indonesian Nationalist Party
Polri	<i>[Polisi Republik Indonesia]</i> National Police
Pom	<i>[Polisi Militer]</i> Military Police
Pos Siaga Naker	Early Warning Posts
PPP	<i>[Partai Persatuan Pembangunan]</i> Unity Development Party
Protap	<i>[Prosedur Tetap]</i> Established Procedure
PRRI	<i>[Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia]</i> Indonesian Revolutionary Government
PSI	<i>[Partai Sosialis Indonesia]</i> Indonesian Socialist Party
PTHM	<i>[Perguruan Tinggi Hukum Militer]</i> Higher Military Law School
PTIK	<i>[Perguruan Tinggi Ilmu Kepolisian]</i> Police Science College
Pucuk Pimpinan	Supreme Staff
Pusat Pelaksana Pencegah Konflik	Conflict Prevention Central Executive
Pusat Pengelola Tenaga Kerja	Labour Crisis Control Centre
Pusat Pengelolaan Krisis Masalah Ketenaga Kerjaan	Labour Crisis Control Centres
Pusbintal ABRI	<i>[Pusat Pembinaan Mental ABRI]</i> Armed Forces Mental Development Centre
Pusdik Intel ABRI	<i>[Pusat Pendidikan Intelijen ABRI]</i> Armed Forces Intelligence Education Centre

Pusintelstrat	<i>[Pusat Intelijen Strategis]</i> Strategic Intelligence Centre
Pussenif	<i>[Pusat Kesenjataan Infanteri]</i> Army Infantry Weapons Centre
Rapim	<i>[Rapat Pimpinan/Pangab]</i> Armed Forces Commander's/Leaders' Meeting
Renseitai	<i>[Jawa Bð-ei Giyũgun Kanbu Renseitai]</i> Officer Training Unit
Renstra	<i>[Rencana Strategis]</i> Strategic (Defence and Security) Plans
Repelita	<i>[Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun]</i> Five-Year Development Plan
Rikugun Shikan Gakko	Ground Forces Military Academy
RPKAD	<i>[Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat]</i> Army Paratroop Regiment
RTP	<i>[Resimen Tim Pertempuran]</i> Regimental Combat Team
rukun kampung	village/neighbourhood association
rukun tetangga	neighbourhood association
rukun warga	citizen/neighbourhood association
SAB	<i>[Staf Angkatan Bersenjata]</i> Armed Forces Staff
Satgas Intel	<i>[Satuan Tugas Intelijen]</i> Intelligence Task Force
Sathub	<i>[Satuan Perhubungan]</i> Communications Unit
Satpur	<i>[Satuan Tempur]</i> Combat Unit
SAVAK	National Information and Security Organisation (Iran)
SD	<i>[Sekolah Dasar]</i> Primary School
Seinen Dðjð	Youth Training Centre
Seskoad	<i>[Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Darat]</i> Army Staff and Command School
Seskogab	<i>[Sekolah Staf dan Komando Gabungan Angkatan Bersenjata]</i> Armed Forces Combined Staff and Command College

Seskopol	<i>[Sekolah Staf dan Komando Polisi]</i> Police Command and Staff College
Shisō Gakari	Thought Procurators (Japanese)
Shisō Gakari Kempei	Military Thought Police (Japanese)
Shisō Keisatsu	Thought Police (Japanese)
shodancho	platoon commander
Si	<i>[Seksi]</i> Section
Siinteldim	<i>[Seksi Intelijen Distrik Militer]</i> Military District Intelligence Section Staff
Sintelrem	<i>[Staf Intelijen Rayon Militer]</i> Military Sub-Area <i>[Korem]</i> Intelligence Staff
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SKBD	<i>[Surat Keterangan Bersih Diri]</i> Certificate of Personal (Political) Cleanliness
SKI	<i>[Staf Koordinasi Intelijen]</i> Intelligence Coordinating Staff
SCUT	<i>[Staf Koordinasi Urusan Tjina]</i> Coordinating Staff for Chinese Affairs
SMA	<i>[Sekolah Menengah Atas]</i> Senior High School
SMP	<i>[Sekolah Menengah Pertama]</i> Junior High School
SMT	<i>[Sekolah Menengah Teknik]</i> Technical Middle School
sospol	social and political
SPN	<i>[Sekolah Polisi Negara]</i> State Police School
Spri	Personal Staff
SPSI	<i>[Serikat Pekerja SeluruhIndonesia]</i> All Indonesian Federation of Workers
Srena	<i>[Staf Rencana dan Anggaran]</i> Budgeting and Planning Staff

SSKAD	<i>[Sekolah Staf dan Komand Angkatan Darat]</i> Army Staff and Command School
SUAD	<i>[Staf Umum Angkatan Darat]</i> Army General Staff
Sum Kopkamtib	<i>[Staf Umum Kopkamtib]</i> Kopkamtib General Staff
Sus Kopkamtib	<i>[Staf Khusus Kopkamtib]</i> Kopkamtib Special Staff
Suslapa T&T	<i>[Kursus Lanjutan Perwira]</i> Officers' Advanced Course <i>[Tentara dan Teritorium]</i> Army and Territory
tapol	[tahanan politik] political prisoner
TBO	<i>[Tenaga Bantuan Operasi]</i> Operational Support Forces
Teperpu	<i>[Team Pemeriksa Pusat]</i> Central Investigation Team
TGP	<i>[Tentara Genie Pelajar]</i> Student Engineer Army
Tim Bantuan Masalah Perburuhan	Labour Assistance Teams
Tim Pembina Desa	Village Guidance Teams
Tiningpu	(Kopkamtib) Screening Teams
TJADUAD	<i>[Tjadangan Umum Angkatan Darat]</i> Army General Reserve
TKR	<i>[Tentara Keamanan Rakyat]</i> People's Security Army
TNI	<i>[Tentara Nasional Indonesia]</i> Indonesian National Army
Todsapu	<i>[Tim Oditur/Jaksa Pusat]</i> (Kopkamtib) Central Prosecution Team
Tokkô	<i>[Tokubetsu Kôttô Keisatsu]</i> Special Higher Police (Japanese)
tonarigumi	neighbourhood associations (Japanese)
TRIP	<i>[Tentara Republik Indonesia Pelajar]</i> Indonesian Students Army
unit kerja	work unit
Wa	Deputy

walikota	mayor
Yon Zipur	<i>[Batalyon Zeni Pertempuran]</i> Engineers Battalion
Yugekitai	<i>[Boei Giyugun Tokusetsu Yugekitai, also known as I-go Kimmutai]</i> Special Guerilla Defence Corps
zaibatsu	financial clique (Japanese)